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## PARSIC AND JEWISH LEGENDS OF THE FIRST MAN.

IN a former article I pointed out the instances wherein the Persian legends on Yima and the primal man and woman Meshia and Meshiâne used the Biblical account of the first eleven chapters of Genesis as their basis. I now proceed to trace the occasions on which the Persian traditions were drawn upon in Talmudical-Midrashic utterances.

We must again treat the Yima and Meshia legend conjointly, for, as Windischman<sup>1</sup> rightly remarked, "Gayomarth with his development as Meshia and Meshiâne is the primal man in the theosophic shape of the Zarathustrian system; Yima is the primal man of the old Erânic legend, which, however, had to change according to the system, although the paradisiac state is found also here."

I proved the accuracy of this statement in my essay on the subject in question<sup>2</sup> by comparing the Zend texts and Bundehesh with each other. The resemblance of the two heroes is so manifest that we may trace back their close relationship to a common source of cosmogonic conceptions. Naturally it stands to reason that the common features have some incongruities in proportion to the different shades of thought even within the boundaries of Indo-Germanic circles of ideas. How much more must their comparison with the Jewish conception produce a discrepancy in the shaping and colouring of the legendary Adam. The Persian account corresponds nevertheless substantially

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<sup>1</sup> *Mithra, ein Beitrag zur Mythengeschichte des Orients*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, vol. xxv., p. 69 ff.

with that in the Talmud and Midrash, only that we must needs consider the strange ideas borrowed from Parsism in the light of a particular Jewish point of view. This borrowed idea had to undergo many changes in order to become an integral Jewish property; it had to be stripped of its strange garment, and to be clad in Jewish robes. The polytheistic or dualistic diction underlying the idea had to be purified sevenfold before it was regarded worthy of being acclimatised, and, in the hands of the teachers of the Haggada, made pliable enough to be read into, or deduced from the holy text.

But coming to the point, a comparison of the different original texts will show, more than any introduction can, the agreement or disagreement of the two conceptions.

#### A. THE YIMA ACCOUNT.

I arrange the points to be compared in the following groups:—

1. Yima's constant *epitheton ornans* in the Zend texts<sup>1</sup> is "Khshaêtô," the *shining one*. He is also called, *par excellence*, "Çrîrô," the *beautiful*, or "Quarenanhaçtemô," the *sunny*, or "Hvaredareçô mashyânâm," *he who gazes on the sun more than any other man*. And being radiant with sunbeams, he is named Yamshid.<sup>2</sup> In a similar manner the Haggada dwells on a lengthy description of Adam's beauty, lustre and brightness. "The beauty of our ancestor Jacob was that of the primal man."<sup>3</sup>

"As R. Benaah arrived at the cave of the primal man a heavenly voice was heard saying, 'Even if thou beholdest the image of my face thou canst not see my face itself.'"<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Vendidad*, II., 20, 23, 31, 43; xix. 132; *Yaçna*, ix. 13; *Yt*, 5, 25, 98; 15, 15; 17, 28; 19, 31, 35; 23, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Journal Asiat.*, xi. p. 154 ff. and p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> *B. Mezia*, 84a; *B. Bathra*, 58a, and to it the commentary of R. Samuel ben Meir.

<sup>4</sup> *B. Bathra*, l. c.

The comparison is taken from the sun, as in the passage referring to Yima. Hence we understand the other saying of R. Benaah<sup>1</sup>: "I have seen the two heels of Adam; they resemble two spheres of the sun."

"Eve's beauty is said to have been in proportion to that of Adam as an ape's beauty is to that of man."<sup>2</sup> Adam was radiant with brightness, for "in the light which was created on the first day he saw from one end of the earth to the other<sup>3</sup>"; and Adam is, therefore, called "the light of the world."<sup>4</sup>

2. Like Yima,<sup>5</sup> Adam was destined to be the propagator of the Law. "R. Jehuda, son of Simon, said, Adam would have been worthy of being entrusted with the revelation of the Law."<sup>6</sup> But, as with Yima,<sup>7</sup> Adam also became unfit for this mission. "If thou couldst not exist with the six commandments I have given thee, how shouldst thou exist with the 613? said God."<sup>8</sup>

3. Like Yima, again,<sup>9</sup> Adam is said to have cultivated the soil. "Every region where Adam, according to God's commandment, settled, was cultivated."<sup>10</sup> God seized Adam, carrying him around the earth, and telling him here should be a plantation, here a corn-field, and thus it is written: 'A land that none passed through, and where no man dwelt,'<sup>11</sup> was cultivated by Adam."

4. Yima, before he succumbed to sin, was destined for immortality. "For on account of his reign men and cattle were immortal, waters not drying up, trees not withering, eatable food inexhaustible. In Yima's wide government there was no cold, no heat, no age, no death, no envy created by the Devas."<sup>12</sup> This golden epoch of prosperity

<sup>1</sup> *B. Bathra*, l. c., see also *Levit. Rabba*, ch. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *B. Bath.*, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> *Chag.*, 12a.

<sup>4</sup> *Jer. Shabb.*, II., 5b; *Genes. Rabba*, ch. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Vend.*, II., 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Gen. Rabba*, ch. 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Vend.*, II., 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Gen. Rabba*, l. c.

<sup>9</sup> *Vend.*, II., 13.

<sup>10</sup> *Berach*, 31a; *Sota*, 46b.

<sup>11</sup> *Jerem.* ii. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Yaçna*, IX., 16, 17, 18.

and bountiful gifts is described also in other passages.<sup>1</sup> A similar picture is presented in Jewish sources. Adam's pre-determined immortality is asserted in the following account<sup>2</sup>: "The verse,<sup>3</sup> 'Art not thou from everlasting, O Lord my God, mine holy one, we shall not die,' is to be referred to Adam before eating of the fruit; had he not eaten it he would never have died, but, having transgressed thy commandment, thou didst bring death upon him." "Should any one ask, If Adam had not committed sin how was he to live for ever? then do you answer that Elijah, who did not sin, lives indeed to eternity."<sup>4</sup>

"Why was death pronounced upon Adam? I have commanded him do a little thing, and he did not consider it."<sup>5</sup> "The strength that the holy one bestowed upon Adam would have lasted for ever; as he, however, forsook the purpose of the holy one, and followed the advice of the serpent, 'Thou changest his countenance and sendest him away.'"<sup>6</sup>

That before Adam's Fall Nature's gifts had been bountifully bestowed is taught as follows: "Although the world was created for plenitude, this was diminished with the Fall of Adam."<sup>7</sup>

5. In regard to the Fall of Yima we are told,<sup>8</sup> "As he began to make use of lying speech, the untrue one, the Majesty fled from him visibly. And no longer seeing the Majesty, Yima the supreme, the shining one, with good assembly, ill-humoured cast himself toward the bad thinker, horrified he fell down on the earth." So Adam's fall was caused by falsehood, "The expression 'Neither shall ye touch it'<sup>9</sup> is to be compared with the words<sup>10</sup> 'Add thou

<sup>1</sup> *Ram yt*, 16; *Ashi yt*, 29, 31; *Zamy. yt*, 32; *Gosh yt*, 10, and other places.

<sup>2</sup> *Exod. Rabb.*, beginning of ch. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Habak. i. 12.*

<sup>4</sup> *Levit. Rabba*, ch. 27. <sup>5</sup> *Shabb.*, 55b; *Erub.*, 18b; *Ab. Zara*, 8a.

<sup>6</sup> *Gen. Rab.*, ch. 21, with reference to Job xiv. 20. <sup>7</sup> *Gen. R.*, ch. 12.

<sup>8</sup> *Zamy. yt*, 34.

<sup>9</sup> *Genes. iii. 3.*

<sup>10</sup> *Prov. xxx. 6.*

not unto his words lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar.' R. Chiya said, Do not make the fence higher than the main thing (the garden), that it may not fall down and destroy the plantations, and thus said the Holy One, 'In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die,'<sup>1</sup> but Eve recited God's word thus, Ye shall not eat thereof, *neither touch it.*"<sup>2</sup> "Adam became an unbeliever — an apostate denying the principles."<sup>3</sup> God's Majesty left him by degrees,<sup>4</sup> "As Adam sinned the Majesty raised itself to the first heaven; with the sin of Cain to the second heaven," etc.<sup>5</sup>

That Adam's stature, like Yima's sublimity, was diminished, is conveyed thus,<sup>6</sup> "What do the words Gen. iii. 8 refer to? To the fact that with Adam's sin his height was diminished." In other places the height of Adam is also spoken of.<sup>7</sup> This trait is, however, missing in the Yima legend. According to the Zend<sup>8</sup> it belonged, on the contrary, to Yima's blessed time that<sup>9</sup> "there was no stature which outgrew the measure of the body." In the Meshia legend this feature, however, is to be found, as we are told<sup>10</sup> that Ahuramazda created the first man in the shape of a young man of fifteen years, bright and tall. Arabian sources<sup>11</sup> assure us that Adam's height, at his creation, was sixty yards.

Adam, as well as Yima, was said to have been deprived of his brightness.

"In consequence of his sin Adam lost six things, viz., his lustre, his strength, his height, the enjoyment of the produce of the field and the fruit of the trees and the splendour of his face."<sup>12</sup> In agreement with this statement regarding

<sup>1</sup> Gen. ii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Genes. Rabb.*, ch. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Synhedrin*, 38b.

<sup>4</sup> That the majesty left Yima by degrees is shown in *Zamy. yt*, l. c. and following verses, so also in the Midrash.

<sup>5</sup> *Genes. Rabb.*, ch. 19, and *Num. R.*, ch. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Gen. Rabb.*, ch. 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Synh.*, 38, *Chag.* 12a.

<sup>8</sup> *Farg.*, ii. 121.

<sup>9</sup> *Mâ paêsô yô vitaretô tanus.*

<sup>10</sup> *Bundehesh*, iii. 10.

<sup>11</sup> *Sejûthi's al-Gâmi al-sagîr*, § 3689.

<sup>12</sup> *Gen. R.*, ch. 12, see also ch. 11; *Num. R.*, ch. 13; *Yalk. Ruth*, § 609.

the loss of the taste to enjoy food is the similar assertion of the Bundelesh, as we shall see later on; while, on the contrary, of the blessed period of Yima's government it is said: "In his government food imperishable for the body, water inexhaustible and fruits of trees were enjoyed."<sup>1</sup>

6. There is a difference of opinion as to what the lie of Yima consisted in. Some say in his haughtiness. Firdûsi says that in his self-conceit Yima refused to worship God, and demanded this worship for himself.

A similar view is adduced in the Haggada.

"R. Tanhum, son of Abba, said, it is written,<sup>2</sup> 'A man's pride shall bring him low;' this is said in regard to Adam. After having fallen into sin he ought to have repented, which he did not do. No sooner, however, was the sentence uttered against him, than he began to swear and blaspheme."<sup>3</sup> "The trees cried out, There goes the thief, who cheated the intentions of God! To this is to be referred, 'Let not the foot of pride come against me'<sup>4</sup>—the foot of the first man who did exalt himself against his Creator."<sup>5</sup> In another place<sup>6</sup> we read of the self-adoration of Adam. "Adam would have been worthy to escape the taste of death; why, then, was he punished? In order not to adore himself, as God foresaw that Nebuchadnezzar and Hiram, King of Tyre, would declare themselves gods." According to another opinion,<sup>7</sup> the angels wished to worship Adam. Still another passage<sup>8</sup> states, the angels came down from heaven to wait on Adam, but God seized him and brought him under his wings. According to the Koran<sup>9</sup> the angels, on the contrary, were commanded to worship Adam.

<sup>1</sup> *Zamy. yt*, 33, cf. *yt*, 15, 16; *Yaçna*, ix. 14-18.      <sup>2</sup> Proverbs xxix. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Gen. Rabba*, ch. 15, cf. ch. 21, and *Yalk. Psalm* § 727.

<sup>4</sup> *Psalm xxxvi*. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Genes. Rabba*, ch. 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Genes. R.*, ch. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Genes. R.*, ch. 8; *Yalk. Isaiah*, § 261; see also Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, i. 239, and iv. 82.

<sup>8</sup> *Aboth de R. Nathan*, ch. i.

<sup>9</sup> See *Sure* ii. v. 34; xv. 30, 31; xvii. 62; xviii. 51; xx. 114, cf. also *Sajûthi*, §§ 2082, 3689. Peculiar is the serious disputation of the fathers of the Church whether angels are to be considered as being created in the image of God. See *Zeitschrift d. d. M. G.*, vol. xxiv. 284.

7. Yima, in trying to save his brother Tahmurath, touched Agromainyus, and became in consequence leprous.<sup>1</sup> And, according to Bundeshesh,<sup>2</sup> the bad spirit contaminated the reason of the first men. With this statement is to be compared the saying of the Rabbis,<sup>3</sup> that, from touching the serpent (Satan-Samael), Eve became tainted.

8. Yima is spoken of having been sawn asunder (by Çpityura),<sup>4</sup> which is alluded to also in Zend text,<sup>5</sup> and the same is asserted in regard to the first man, who in the *Midrash* is described as androgynous.<sup>6</sup>

9. Later sources record the penitence of Yima, who in his distress regretted his sin. Parallel with this assertion we find the statement in the Talmud<sup>7</sup> that "the first man was very devout. Having heard of the verdict of his death penalty, he fasted for 130 years, and lived for the same number of years secluded from Eve." "Cain, on returning home after his penitent confession,<sup>8</sup> met Adam. 'What is thy penalty?' he asked the former. 'I repented, and am now forgiven.' Adam hereupon covered his face with both hands, saying, 'Is the power of repentance so great, and I should not have known it!' He instantly took courage and chanted hymns."<sup>9</sup> According to another reference,<sup>10</sup> Adam sacrificed a bull as a thank-offering. The Zend texts often mention the primal bull, together with the primal man, the genii of both being invoked.<sup>11</sup> In my former essay in this *Review* I have already referred to the fantastic conception of the Parsees,

<sup>1</sup> Spiegel, *Einleitung in d. Tr. Schr. der Parsen*, ii. 323 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Shabb.*, 146a; *Jebam.*, 103b.; *Ab. Zara*, 22b. See Kohut, *Angelology*, etc., p. 66, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Bundeshesh*, 77, 78.

<sup>5</sup> *Zamy. yt*, 46.

<sup>6</sup> *Gen. R.*, ch. 8; *Yalk. Psalms*, § 887; *Yebam.*, 49b mentions Isaiah's being sawn asunder by Manasseh.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Mugmil in *Journ. Asiat.*, xi. 154 ff. 279; *Z. d. d. M. G.*, iv. 423.

<sup>8</sup> *Gen. iv.* 15, 16.

<sup>9</sup> *Gen. Rabba*, ch. 22.

<sup>10</sup> *Aboda Zara*, 8a; *Shabb.*, 28b; *Chullin*, 60a. <sup>11</sup> *Yaçna*, xiii. 7; xxvi. 13.



who assume that Ormuzd created the great primal bull, in the body of which he deposited the germ seeds of all living creatures, and that, consequently, Gayomarth, the first man, came out of the bull's right shoulder. Ahriman thereupon entered the body of the bull and destroyed it.<sup>1</sup> The Jewish conception is incomparably higher, and has obviously a polemic tendency, as the primal bull is killed as a thank-offering by the primal man.

10. The six festivals of the year called Gahanbârs,<sup>2</sup> reminding of the creation of the world are ascribed to Yima.<sup>3</sup> The institution is fully described in *Sadder P.*, xciv.<sup>4</sup> This has some similarity with the Talmudical account<sup>5</sup> speaking of Adam having established festivals reminding of the creation of the world and its phenomena.

The passage reads as follows:—"Adam, seeing that the day was getting shorter and shorter (in the autumn), said, 'Woe unto me, perhaps on account of my fault the world becomes dark and returns to chaos, and this seems to be the death penalty to which I am sentenced,' and Adam fasted eight days.<sup>6</sup> As he observed, however, that the days grew longer (in the spring), he said unto himself, 'This is then a natural phenomenon'! He thereupon celebrated eight days with solemnity, and the following year he instituted those days as festivals, and, moreover, brought sacrifices." As Yima is said to have instituted the times of the Gâthas to offer prayers on them,<sup>7</sup> so, too, Adam pointed out certain days with the purpose of offering certain prayers on them."<sup>8</sup>

11. Yima is said<sup>9</sup> to have been invested with the dignity of a *Herbed* (priest), or<sup>10</sup> *Mobed* (high priest). And so we

<sup>1</sup> *Bund.*, ch. 4, 10 and 15.

<sup>2</sup> Invoked in *Vispered*, i. 2, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Spiegel, *Einleitung*, etc., ii. 82.

<sup>4</sup> Spiegel, *Introduction to the Translation of Avesta*, ii. p. C., note 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Aboda Zara*, 8a.

<sup>6</sup> So did Yima, also cf. *Sadder P.* l. c. Gjemshîdo coram Deo ingemiscente.

<sup>7</sup> Spiegel, *Einleitung*, etc., ii. 82.

<sup>8</sup> *Aboth de R. Nathan*.

<sup>9</sup> Spiegel, *Commentary to Vend.* ii. 16.

<sup>10</sup> *Firdûsi*, iv. 6.

read of Adam also,<sup>1</sup> "As Adam brought his sacrifice he put on the vestments of a high priest." "In the Holy Writ it is said, 'God created man in his image,' it means Adam, who was anointed as a high priest, and designated to serve his Maker."<sup>2</sup>

12. Yima is held to be an inventor of many things. He is said to have molten iron and manufactured weapons for fifty years. In another fifty years he invented linen, silk, wool, beaver skin, etc.; in short, he was well versed in all kinds of arts.<sup>3</sup> And so is Adam also credited with knowing all sorts of handicraft and arts.<sup>4</sup>

13. Finally, there is an agreement in the Persian and Jewish sources as to the origin of deformed beings. We read regarding Yima,<sup>5</sup> "As to the qualities of apes and bears it is said, As the splendour left Yem, he took unto him, out of fear of the demons, a she-demon, and Gemk, who was his sister, was given to a demon as wife. Hereupon apes, longtailed bears and other noxious beings have risen from them." A similar origin for the demons and other harmful beings is given also in Talmud and Mishnah.<sup>6</sup> In perfect accord with the Zend,<sup>7</sup> the Talmud<sup>8</sup> also maintains that pollution leads to the birth of demons.

## B.—THE MESHIA ACCOUNT.

It is not only Zend texts, treating of features of Yima, that furnish us with corresponding matter in regard to the Adam legend, but also the *Bundehesh*, which, although of a more recent date, is, nevertheless, known to be a compilation of old traditions. Windischman and Spiegel have fully

<sup>1</sup> *Num. R.*, ch. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Tanchuma Pikude* (beginning).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Zeitsch. d. d. M. G.*, vol. ii. 255.

<sup>4</sup> *Genes. R.*, ch. 24; *Yalk. Genes.*, § 40.

<sup>5</sup> *Bundehesh*, 56, 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Erub.*, 18b; *Genes. R.*, ch. 20; *Yalkut Genes.*, § 42. Cf. Kohut, *Angelology*, etc., p. 66 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Fargard*, xviii. 101, 102.

<sup>8</sup> *Erub.*, l.c.

proved this statement. I do not wish, therefore, to pursue this question of the composition of the *Bundehesh* at any length. I may be only allowed to call attention to one remark made by Professor Max Müller:<sup>1</sup>—"Before that time [the Sassanian dynasty, 226 C.E.] we may indeed infer that the doctrine of Zoroaster had been committed to writing; for Alexander is said to have destroyed the books of the Zoroastrians. Hermippas, of Alexandria, is said to have read them; but whether on the revival of the Persian religion and literature—that is to say, 500 years after Alexander—the works of Zoroaster were collected and restored from extant MSS. or from oral tradition, must remain uncertain, and the disturbed state of the phonetic system would rather lead us to suppose a long-continued influence of oral tradition." If, now, the oral tradition contributed a great deal—as it did—to the collection of Zoroastrian doctrines, and these were composed under the Sassanian dynasty, we certainly may assume that these oral traditions were added to by the continual intercourse of the Parsees with the Jews, as the establishment of Jewish schools by Rab (Abba Arekha) falls exactly in the same period. This circumstance seems to me to be the clue to the remarkable fact that Persian and Jewish ideas should have fallen into such undeniable agreement regarding legendary materials. To outline, however, the boundaries peculiar to the dominion of Persian or Jewish ideas, and to show clearly which is the giver and which the recipient, is a very difficult task, and can hardly be satisfactorily answered. For the present it will suffice to notice the bare existence of the resemblances. Our main Persian source in this regard is the fifteenth chapter of the *Bundehesh*.

Before commencing a research into its utterances, we must tarry for a moment or two at the outset with some remarks concerning the etymology of the name of the first man.

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<sup>1</sup> *Chips*, Vol. I., pp. 87, 88.

The name of Gayômerethan, the primal man — as well as of his offspring, the first pair, Meshia and Meshiâne — means mortal life, mortal being.<sup>1</sup> While the genius of other Indo-germanic languages starts in naming the man from a higher conception, from man's mental abilities,<sup>2</sup> the Parsees take man's frailty into consideration, calling him mortal. So do the Hebrews, by deriving Adam from Adama—earth.<sup>3</sup> Based upon this etymology, the Haggada<sup>4</sup> beautifully remarks: "God constructed man from all parts of the earth, in order that no particle of earth should say, 'Thou dost not belong to me; the dust of thy body has not been taken from me; and, therefore, I will not receive thee into my lap.'"

Starting from the same idea, the Talmud<sup>5</sup> says:—"The lower parts of the body were taken from Babylon [the low land], the head [intelligence] from Palestine [the high land], and the other limbs from other lands."

Similar to this is the Arabic conception:<sup>6</sup>—"As God was about to create man of clay, he commanded, first Gabriel, then Michael, then Isrâphil, to bring handfuls of earth of seven colours. But, implored by the earth, the archangels came back with empty hands. Only after the Angel of Death had been sent out, and returned with earth of seven colours, man was created. The several races of men were contained in that seven-coloured earth. The white

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Windischman, *Fortschritte der Sprachkunde*, p. 23. See however Justi *Zendlexicon*, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> So in Sanscrit *man* is derived from *man*, "to think"; and thus *manu*, *manuja*, *mânusha* (=Latin *mens*; German *mensch*) means "thinker." The Greek *ἄνθρωπος*, "man's picture"; the Latin *homo*, *i.e.* "caller," "endowed with speech," is based upon this nobler quality of man.

<sup>3</sup> Some think of אָדָם "red," see Gesenius, *Thes.*, p. 25, and Josephus, *Antiq.*, I. i. 2. Regarding other fantastic Arabic etymologies, see my remark in the *Z. d. D. M. G.*, XXV. 83.

<sup>4</sup> *Tanch. Pikude*; simpler *Synh.* 38a; also *Yalk. Psalms* § 888; *Aboth de R. Nathan*, Ch. i.

<sup>5</sup> *Synh.* 38b.

<sup>6</sup> So teaches *Dshelâleddin Rûmî* in *Mesnewi*.

earth is still to be recognised in the white race, the black in the negroes, the half-black in the Nubians and Barabras [Berbers], the yellow in the Mongols, the green in the olive-coloured Indians, the brown in the Arabians, the red in the different tribes of the savages."

The Parsic idea sets out, however, with an entirely different doctrine, teaching that the first man was created from the *σπέρμα* of Gayomerethan, created immediately by Ahura-mazda. And, as mentioned, it means mortal life, not only for the individual reason that Gayomerethan lived but thirty years,<sup>1</sup> but on the general principle of the shortness of human life.

From what primal element, however, Gayomarth himself, whose offspring were the first men, was made is to our regret, not mentioned in the texts. From an obscure passage of the *Bundehesh*,<sup>2</sup> we may infer that Gayomarth rose from the Khei, which means either saliva<sup>3</sup> or perspiration.<sup>4</sup> Haug says,<sup>5</sup> according to tradition it means a fabulous water. It would be worth examining closer into the matter, in order to determine whether the theory of the Gnostics that man was created from water is traceable. The Valentines and Ophites, for instance, accepted with regard to Gen. i. 2, the water, on account of its changeable nature, as the primal element, the *hyle*. The Parsic cosmogony might be based—at least in its later development—on the same notion.

In the same manner is explained the passage of Genesis i. 2, "And the spirit of God was brooding upon the face of the earth," as meaning the soul of the primal man.<sup>6</sup> In Palestine, where Parsic influence could find but scanty entrance, this statement was contradicted. There they

<sup>1</sup> *Bundehesh*, III. 11, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Bund.*, III., 10, 1, 14.

<sup>3</sup> In New Persian, *خيو* (Ch'yu).

<sup>4</sup> *خوی* (Ch'wu) cf. Windischman, *Mithra*, p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> *Pehlevi Sprache*, p. 42.

<sup>6</sup> *Tanchuma Tazria*; cf. *Genes. Yalk.* § 4.

said,<sup>1</sup> "He who says water was the primal substance of the world is mistaken." The Midrash Genesis Rabba, reflecting Palestinian ideas, does not know, therefore, of the explanation quoted, but illustrates<sup>2</sup> Genesis i. 2 by saying, "that is, the spirit of the King Messiah." That man was created from water must have been a very popular imagination, as even amulets refer to it.<sup>3</sup> Finally we must bear in mind that to the genius of water, Apām napão, an enlivening, refreshing, and creating power was attributed.<sup>4</sup>

Having thus shown the agreements and discrepancies between Parsic and Jewish conception concerning man's creation, I return to the particulars enumerated in the fifteenth chapter of the *Bundehesh*.<sup>5</sup> The following are the characteristic traits in the parallelism that we may draw between the Parsic Meshia legend and the Jewish legend of Adam.

1. *Bundehesh*: "After a lapse of forty years Meshia and Meshiâne grew from the earth from the purified seed of Gayomarth, in the shape of a Reiva plant, one-stemmed, of an age of fifteen years, on Mithragân of the month of Mithra, in a way that their hands were slung around the ears, one was fastened on the other, they were of the same shape and appearance."

The principal idea, although bearing the stamp of Erânic imagination is, *mutatis mutandis*, to be found also in the Haggada, that teaches that the first man grew, *as it were* as a plant from the earth.<sup>6</sup> This, "as it were," makes, however, a world of difference, for in the Indo-germanic

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<sup>1</sup> *Jer. Chag.* II. See however, Grätz, *Gnosticismus*, p. 30. <sup>2</sup> Ch. II.

<sup>3</sup> There was for instance in Lord Byron's *Persian Amulet* the following quotation: "He who has made man of foam." See Hammer, *Purgstall die Geisteslehre der Moslimen*, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Windischman, *Zoroastrische Studien*, i. p. 177 ff.

<sup>5</sup> I follow the second revision of Windischman's translation (*Zoroast. Studien*, p. 213 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> According to the Italic legend the primal man grew out of trees, cf. Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 131; Juv., *Sat.* vi. 11.

imagination the outgrowth is to be taken literally, while the Semitic conception ennobles the idea and turns it to moral purpose. The simile is as follows: "At the creation of man, Grace, Truth, Justice, and Peace raised a dispute. Grace said, 'May God create him, as he will perform works of charity.' 'Do not create him,' replied Truth, 'for he will commit deeds of falsehood.' 'Shape him,' cried Justice, 'for he will follow the inclination of Right.' 'Do not form him,' shouted Peace, 'for his propensities carry him toward hatred and strife.' Hereupon God seized Truth and threw her to earth in order that she might grow from it, as it is written,<sup>1</sup> 'Truth springeth out of the earth.'"<sup>2</sup>

The moral tendency is obvious. Man should raise himself despite his lowly birth, and strive heavenward by means of truth. The Parsic notion is grossly realistic. But that the Reiva plant should grow on the Mithra day has, perhaps, the ethical tendency of furthering truth, the representative of which is Mithra. And as to the oneness of the stem on which both Meshia and Meshiâne grew in perfect unity, whereby the androgynous nature of the first men is symbolized, the Adam legend knows of this feature also.<sup>3</sup>

2. *Bundelesh*: "As hereupon both grew from the shape of a plant into the shape of men, such a spiritual splendour came into them which is the soul, and thus the tree grew that it bore fruits, ten kinds of men."

The meaning of this obscure passage is, in my opinion, that the primal men, imagined as plants, contained the germs and the principal conditions for the development of coming generations, so that the first man bore already in himself the nature, character and inclination of his posterity.

<sup>1</sup> Psalm lxxxv. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Genes. R.*, ch. 8; *Yalk. Psalms*, § 834, and other places.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Aboth de R. Nathan*, ch. I. *Berach.*, 61a; *Erub.*, 10b; *Synhed.*, 38b; cf. also *Genes. R.*, ch. 8, and *Yalk. Psalms*, § 834, with the additional remark that the primal men had to be sawn asunder. See above, p. 237, note 6.

The idea that the primal substance of the first men was the type of future generations has been often pointed out.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Bundehesh*: "Ahura said to Meshia and Meshiâne, 'Ye are men; origins of worlds ye are.'" This means, perhaps, Ye are citizens of two worlds. This is at least the Jewish interpretation of *וְיִצְרָא*.<sup>2</sup> "In men are accomplished two creations showing the double nature of both heaven and earth, having the two-fold inclination to good and evil. Man should be created in the image of a heavenly being, but he must also contain earthy elements. Were I to create him after the model of heavenly beings he would never die, and if after the earthly ones, he would die without living (spiritually), so I create him after both. Let him be created for both, for this world and the world hereafter."<sup>3</sup>

4. *Bundehesh*: "Ye are by me created perfect and pure, so perform ye also in a perfect manner the deeds prescribed. Think good thoughts, speak good words, do good works, and do not sacrifice to the Devas."

To this sublime idea is to be found plenty of Haggadic support. I have already quoted<sup>4</sup> "Adam is the light of the world." "In this light he gazed from one end of the world to the other."<sup>5</sup> "Adam was the last and yet the first of creation."<sup>6</sup> "With Adam everything was created in a perfect manner, only his fall produced imperfection."<sup>7</sup> "And God saw it was good"<sup>8</sup>: this means Adam.<sup>9</sup> "Who is as the wise man?"<sup>10</sup> This refers to Adam. "For he is wiser than all men"<sup>11</sup> is again said of Adam,<sup>12</sup> as his wisdom excelled even that of the angels.<sup>13</sup>

As in the *Bundehesh* so also in the Haggadah<sup>14</sup> the duty

<sup>1</sup> *Chag.*, 12b; *Synh.*, 38b; *Seder Olam R.*, ch. 30; *Tanchuma Tissa*, § 12; *Pessiktha R.*, ch. 28; *Genes. R.*, ch. 8, 21, 24; *Yalk. Psalms*, § 887; *Yalk. Chron.*, § 1072. <sup>2</sup> *Genes. ii.* 7. <sup>3</sup> *Genes. R.*, ch. 14.

<sup>4</sup> See note 10, and *Num. R.*, ch. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Chag.*, 12b.

<sup>6</sup> *Gen. R.*, ch. 8; *Tanch. Tazria*. <sup>7</sup> *Genes. R.*, ch. 12; *Exod. R.*, ch. 30. <sup>8</sup> *Gen. i.* 10. <sup>9</sup> *Genes. R.*, ch. 9. <sup>10</sup> *Eccles. viii.* 1.

<sup>11</sup> 1 Kings v. 11.

<sup>12</sup> *Num. R.*, ch. 19.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>14</sup> *Chag.*, 12b; *B. Bathra*, 75a; *Genes. R.*, ch. 24.



of performing God's commandments is brought in close connection with the wisdom of the first man.

"And the Lord took the man,"<sup>1</sup> means Adam apprehended his calling. Here the verb *take* is used with the meaning of 'take with you words and return unto the Lord.'<sup>2</sup> The words, 'And put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it,'<sup>3</sup> means Adam was the object of the divine care in order that he should keep and cultivate God's word; to 'keep and to dress the garden' cannot be thus understood, that he had to cultivate the garden, to till the ground, to dig, or to plough, as everything grew there by itself, consequently the work to be done was of a spiritual nature."<sup>4</sup>

5. *Bundehesh*: "Both of them thought the same, they enjoyed each other's presence, that means to be man." The mutual completion of each other, and the consciousness of it, made them to fully understand their being.

And thus the Rabbis teach also: "He who has no wife is no (perfect) man";<sup>5</sup> "He who lives without a wife lives without joy, happiness and blessing."<sup>6</sup>

6. Jewish legends<sup>7</sup> agree with the *Bundehesh* in effecting this union on the first day after the creation.

7. *Bundehesh*: "And this was their first talk. Ahura has created water, earth, plants, animals, stars, moon, and sun, and all good things manifested by purity, everything altogether."

According to the Midrash<sup>8</sup> Adam also gave names to all creatures, and recognised God's wisdom and grace. Here we may add the evidence of another Haggada<sup>9</sup>: "When the angels first saw Adam they wanted to worship him, in the belief that he had created them. Adam, however, rebuked them, saying, 'Not before me should you bend the knees, but before him who made the creations, before the Holy

<sup>1</sup> Gen. ii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Hosea xiv. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. i.c.

<sup>4</sup> *Genes. R.*, ch. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Yebam*, 63a; *Yalk.*, *Genes.*, § 23.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> *Genes. R.*, ch. 22. *Aboth de R. Nathan*, ch. i.; cf. *Synh.*, 38b.

<sup>8</sup> *Genes. R.*, ch. 19.

<sup>9</sup> *Tanchuma Pikude*.

One.' And he chanted the hymn, 'O how great is thy goodness, which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee.'"<sup>1</sup>

8. *Bundehesh*: "Hereupon the adversary crossed their minds and contaminated<sup>2</sup> their thoughts, and then they falsely asserted that Ahriman had created water, earth, plants, animals, and all other things."

The possibility of Ahriman's bad influence was brought about by the fact that the first pair delayed the expression of their gratitude to their Creator.<sup>3</sup>

The Midrash<sup>4</sup> finds also fault with Adam that he did not chant hymns immediately after his creation,<sup>5</sup> and thus the verse is applied to him, 'He hath violently taken away his hedge,'<sup>6</sup> that is, Adam's safety was withheld on account of his ingratitude.<sup>7</sup>

Analogous with the expression of the *Bundehesh*, that Ahriman contaminated the thoughts of the first men<sup>8</sup> is also the statement of the Talmud,<sup>9</sup> that Satan, whose emblem, like that of Ahriman, is the serpent,<sup>10</sup> touching Eve contaminated her.

*Bundehesh*: "Their souls are in hell until resurrection. The sin of the first men is not atoned for until the resurrection arrives, but at that time the bones of Gayomarth will arise first, then that of Meshia and Meshiâne, and at last that of the other men."<sup>11</sup> Also it is said: "The light which is with the sun makes manifest half way Gayomarth, and half way the other men."

This goes to show that though the first men became

<sup>1</sup> Psalm xxxi. 20.

<sup>2</sup> "Ahokinit" according to the reading of Spiegel.

<sup>3</sup> See Windischman, *Zor. Stud.*, 218.

<sup>4</sup> *Exod. R.*, ch. 23.

<sup>5</sup> In *Ab. Zara*, 8a, Adam is also said to have chanted hymns only after being terrified by natural phenomena.

<sup>6</sup> Lament. ii. 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Echa Rabbathi* to this verse.

<sup>8</sup> The same, with some variation in *Bundehesh*, 11, 12.

<sup>9</sup> See Note 3, p. 237. <sup>10</sup> *Aji Dahâka*. <sup>11</sup> See *Bund.*, ch. 31, p. 72, 11.

wicked<sup>1</sup> through their sins, they will be nevertheless amongst the first to be restored.

The same is also said in the Midrash<sup>2</sup>: 'As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness; I shall be satisfied when I awake with thy likeness'<sup>3</sup> is thus paraphrased: "Only when *he* shall arise, who is formed in thy image, the Messiah,<sup>4</sup> shall I, Adam, behold thy face."

In accordance with the Parsic conception that I illustrated in another place,<sup>5</sup> Adam will be one of the fifteen chosen ones to co-operate in the resurrection. In like manner Adam is brought in close connection with Messiah, who is imagined to be the final link in the chain of human development.<sup>6</sup> It is also quite usual to combine the first man with the last Redeemer, saying from Gayomaratha until Çaoshyan'ç (from creation until resurrection).<sup>7</sup>

9. *Bundehesh*: "Hereupon they went for thirty days without food, and dressed themselves in black clothes."

The thirty days of fasting as a sign of mourning correspond with the thirty mourning prayers<sup>8</sup> prescribed for the pious ones,<sup>9</sup> and this is indicated also by dressing in black.<sup>10</sup> Adam also is said to have fasted for many years,<sup>11</sup> and put on for the sake of mourning, a girdle made of leaves of the fig tree.<sup>12</sup>

10. *Bundehesh*: "The Devas rushed on them and deprived them of food, so that of hundred portions there remained only one particle."

<sup>1</sup> *Darvnd*. Should דרננד Isaiah lxvi. 24, Dan. xii. 2, be explained by this Persian word?

<sup>2</sup> *Genes. R.*, ch. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Psalm xvii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> It has been already mentioned that Gen. i. 2, was interpreted as referring to the Spirit of Messiah. <sup>5</sup> *Zeitschr. d. D.M.G.* xxi., 574 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Gen. Rabba.*, 12, 13, 24.

<sup>7</sup> *Yaçna*, xxvi. 33; *Yt*, 13, 145, and other places.

<sup>8</sup> *Farg.*, xii. 3, 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Dahmananm*.

<sup>10</sup> Black dresses (πενθίμην ἐσθῆτα) as sign of mourning, already mentioned by Diodorus, xi. 57.

<sup>11</sup> According to *Ab. Zara*, 8a, only eight days, the regular mourning time.

<sup>12</sup> *Eruv.*, 18b.; *Yalk.*, *Genes.* §42.

If Meshia and Meshiâne already manifested their apostasy by abandoning their original food, the fruits of the tree,<sup>1</sup> and by indulging in animal food, viz., milk, then their wickedness became all the greater, as they expressed their joy in it, saying, "I feel a greater delight now by enjoying it." But no sooner did they say so than the Devas deprived them of their taste for palatable food.<sup>2</sup> In like manner Adam, who was also forbidden animal food,<sup>3</sup> is recorded to have lost, in consequence of his sin, the sense of tasting seasoned and savoury food.

"Hadst thou not committed sin thou couldst have gathered the herbs from Eden, to enjoy in them all the aromas of the earth, but now thou hast fallen into sin thou must eat of the herbs of the field."<sup>4</sup>

"When Adam heard of his punishment, 'And thou shalt eat the herb of the field,'<sup>5</sup> his eyes were moist with tears, saying, 'Is there for me and my ass one food—shall I eat with my ass together of one crib?'"<sup>6</sup>

11. *Bundelesh*: "Hereupon, after the lapse of a thousand days and a thousand nights, they got a fat, white ram; they killed it, and brought down, according to the advice of the heavenly Yazatas, fire from the trees Kunner and Samsir which contained fire."

This legend, bringing down fire from heaven, reminds us of Prometheus, and, by the advice of angels, preparing their meals by this fire. This legend is also to be found in the Talmud.<sup>7</sup> "Adam sat in Eden, and angels roasted meat and cooled wine for him."

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 70, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Contrary to Râma-qâçtra (the genius of air), who makes food fragrant (Spiegel, *Avesta*, Introd. III., p. xxxiv.), the Devas spoil food. It is for that reason that Yima's government when Devas were powerless, is praised, and in that food was inexhaustible. <sup>3</sup> *Synh.*, 59b.

<sup>4</sup> *Genes. R.*, ch. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. iii. 19.

<sup>6</sup> *Pessach.*, 118a; *Aboth de R. Nathan*, ch. I. (end). An evident resemblance with the Persian legend is supplied by the Tibet-Mongolic narration. Cf. Rosenmüller, *Das alte und neue Morgenland*, I., 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Synh.*, 59b.

"The indulgence in wine caused Adam's fall."<sup>1</sup> According to another opinion,<sup>2</sup> the cause was to be sought in the envy which the serpent felt seeing Adam waited on by angels. Envy was also the cause of the fall of Meshia and Meshiâne,<sup>3</sup> while in Yima's golden era there was no envy to be experienced.

12. The Haggada<sup>4</sup> agrees, too, with the *Bundehesh* in stating that the first pair separated for a long period from one another.

13. *Bundehesh*: "Hereupon there were generated by them seven pairs, male and female, all brothers and sisters, man and wife." The same tradition is also to be met with in the Midrash,<sup>5</sup> where it is pointed out that all the children of the first men were born as twins, so that with Adam they were altogether seven. "Two came down to the earth, and they became seven. Cain with his twin, Abel with his two twins." A Persian influence is in this feature noticeable, since, in order to make up the number seven, Abel is born with *two* twins.

The *Bundehesh* closes the account of this significant fifteenth chapter with the enumeration of the twenty-five kinds of misshapen creatures born of the seed of Gayomarth. A similar legend occurs in regard to Adam, as I have already shown.<sup>6</sup>

ALEXANDER KOHUT.

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<sup>1</sup> *Genes. R.*, ch. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Synh.*, l.c.; *Abot de R. Nath.*, l.c.

<sup>3</sup> *Bund.*, ch. 15,

<sup>4</sup> *Erub.*, 18b.; *Gen. Rabba*, ch. 20; *Yalk. Genes.*, §§ 33, 40; *Genes. iv.* 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Genes. Rabba*, ch. 22; *Yalk. Genes.*, § 35.

<sup>6</sup> See the foot notes 6 and 7, p. 239.